DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 124 353 RC 009 255

AUTHOR Picou, J. Steven; Wells, Richard H.
TITLE Sociological Theory and Youth Aspiration Research: A Critical Overview.
INSTITUTION Texas A and M Univ., College Station. Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.
SPONS AGENCY Cooperative State Research Service (DOA), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO TAES-H-2811; USDA(CSRS)-S-81
PUB DATE Feb 76
NOTE 13p.; Paper presented at the Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists Meeting (Mobile, Alabama, February 1976)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Aspiration; *Critical Path Method; Literature Reviews; Psychology; Research Methodology; Rural Population; *Social Science Research; *Social Status; Social Stratification; Sociology; Structural Analysis; *Systems Analysis; *Theories; Youth

ABSTRACT

Reviewing sociological theories relative to youth aspiration research, the following thesis was presented: "pre-path analysis aspiration research was characterized by a person-centered, middle-range functionalist approach which eventually shifted to a person-centered, functionalist-system approach with the introduction of the path model methodology". Specifically, the following orientations were examined: the quest for theory in aspiration research; pre-path analysis; post-path analysis; the conceptual conservatism of functional status; social stratification and status attainment research; some alternatives. It was suggested that the plethora of studies in sociology on youth aspirations and the corresponding studies of status attainment have implicitly embraced a structural-functional theoretical approach. Criticism associated with this theoretical framework was examined in terms of social stratification research, particularly the writings of Karl Marx and Max Weber which comprise the "domains" of stratification. An alternative direction for status attainment research was sketched in terms of integrating functional psychology within current functional systems of status attainment, leading to more parsimonious theoretical development. (JC)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED124353

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND YOUTH ASPIRATION RESEARCH: A CRITICAL OVERVIEW*

J. Steven Picou
Texas A&M University

Richard H. Wells
Texas A&M University

*Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southern Association of Agricultural Scientists, Rural Sociology Section, February, 1976, Mobile. The authors acknowledge the assistance of Gloria Matson, Arthur G. Cosby and Patricia Picou. This study contributes to USDA (CSRS) Regional Research project S-81 and TAES project H-2811.

RC009255

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND YOUTH ASPIRATION RESEARCH: A CRITICAL OVERVIEW*

The study of status aspirations of youth has dominated the research interests of a large number of sociologists for more than fifteen years. This trend reflects: (1) the early empirical studies of rural sociologists, initially interested in enhancing the social mobility opportunities of rural youth (Lipset, 1955); (2) the social-psychological research of several Harvard University scholars, interested in specifying the reference group determinants of motivation and achievement (Kahl, 1953); (3) and methodological developments in social stratification research (particularly the introduction of path analysis), which revived aspiration studies by giving "status" to "status attainment" research (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Sewell, Haller and Portes, 1969). Moreover, the study of youth aspirations should be of particular interest to social scientists attending the Rural Sociology section of these meetings, since, historically, aspiration research has been the primary topic of research interest.

Aspiration Research: The Quest for Theory

Although the lack of an overt theoretical framework for aspiration studies has been "common knowledge" among researchers in this area since 1963 (e.g., see: Haller and Miller, 1963), a rather covert theoretical approach to theory and the philosophy of science has existed for some time. This convert theoretical approach is characterized by several basic "domain assumptions" and these assumptions remain rather constant in scope and significance if one views aspiration research in terms of "pre-path analysis" and "post-path analysis" time periods. In short, our thesis is that pre-path analysis aspiration research was characterized by a person-centered, middle-range functionalist approach which eventually shifted to a person-centered, functionalist-system approach with the introduction of the path model methodology. In terms of the philosophy of science, this theoretical shift was inductively-generated, reflecting the influence of methodological skills on the level, or scope, of theory. In all probability, the impact and easy access to highly-sophisticated electronic computers enhanced this slight shift in perspective. Additionally, in recent years there has been convergence of statistical techniques predicated upon continuous and categorical data. This convergence between parametric and non-parametric techniques resulted from simulation and replication studies (Labovitz, 1967; Boyle, 1970), and in time made possible the utilization of multivariate analysis techniques from econometrics and population genetics (Coleman, 1969; 87-91). The use of these methodological innovations has given aspiration-research a multivariate methodology which has mixed well with the old person-centered middle-range functionalism, producing the image of a functionalist-systems theoretical frame. The name differs, but the basic assumptions associated with aspiration research have remained unchanged.

Pre-Path Analysis Aspiration Research: Roaming the Middle-Range

The theoretical perspectives for pre-path analysis aspiration research were constantly viewed as inadequate or problematic by sociologists in the

area. The inductive research stragegy utilized by most aspiration sociologists from pre-1960 to 1967, in all probability, reflects the fact that the funding in this area initially had an "applied" orientation, commensurate with the jargon-free approach of most USDA-backed rural sociological inquiry. Furthermore, the overlap of sociological aspiration research with the interest in vocational choice manifested by vocational psychologists reinforced an inductive-applied quantitative research strategy (Trow, 1941; Lewin, et al., 1944). As noted elsewhere, both sociological and psychological studies of vocational choice, status-aspirations, occupational choice, career projections, mobility aspirations, career plans, etc., have been traditionally quantitative and conceptually-orientated, while employing an inductive theoretical approach, if any, for long-term theory-development (Picou and Campbell, 1975).

Fragments of a theoretical perspective, however, did emerge from many of the early sociological articles on aspirations, as it is relatively impossible to publish even in the most atheoretical periodicals without devoting a couple of paragraphs to a "Theoretical Framework" section. For the most part, "Theoretical Frameworks" from early to present aspiration studies alluded to specific properties of the structural-functional paradigm. Certain parts of Robert K. Merton's middle-range functionalism were at one time a very popular post facto disguise for theory. The Mertonian success-theme perspective, which really was a description of American cultural values, was used in conjunction with Robin Williams' suggestion that the achievement-success ethic dominated all levels of American society (Merton, 1957; Williams, 1970). The important "test of theory" was usually a contrast between Merton's view that all levels of American society were permeated by high-status achievement goals and Hyman's and others contentions that achievement values and aspirations were actually class-based, alluding to the somewhat now defunct "culture of poverty" or "blaming the victim" thesis (Hyman, 1957). Needless to say, all contradicting empirical results were subsequently vindicated when Rodman (1963) introduced his "lower-class value stretch" concept which said all socioeconomic and ethnic categories of youth have idealistic American achievement values, but realistically the lower-class, ethnic, female, underpriviledged adolescent, will, on occasion, stretch these idealistic whims to encompass the "definition of the situation" of a disadvantaged location in the social structure. Conceptual circuit, rather than theory-construction, is a more apt description for this line of inquiry.

Theoretical frameworks were so hard to come by during the early 60's, that some sociologists began to grasp theoretical strawmen from other disciplines. Most noteable, and probably most often referenced, was Ginzberg and associates' (1951) "developmental approach" in vocational psychology, which almost reached the status of a class in sociology.

A more theoretically-relevant framework emerged from vocational psychology out of Super's (1953) specification of self-concept as the key to understanding aspiration-formation or vocational-choice. Kahl's (1953) early sociological writings contained some hints for this line of theoretical development. Since historically a major dictum of American sociology posited that the self was merely a reflection of the "reference-group looking-glass," it was not too long before aspiration researchers began to concentrate their energy toward isolating a middle-range theory of aspiration formation as a function of reference group influence. In turn, reference group structures became empirically refined and reconceptualized as significant-other influence. Thus, the

early social-psychological interests of several Harvard scholars became a rather autonomous line of inquiry which has persisted to the present with empirical studies of the impact of a wide variety of significant-others on levels of aspiration of youth (Woelfel and Haller, 1971; Curry, et al; 1975; Picou and Carter, 1976).

In sum, the fragmentary theoretical approaches of pre-path analysis aspiration research manifested the following characteristics:

1. A focus on the normative structure of socialized success-values as reflected by the status-level of aspirations of various populations.
2. A conceptual frame which sensitized researchers to the relationship of cultural values and goals, as they relate to subgroup norms for achieving goals.
3. An emphasis on the process by which reference groups socialize individuals to internalize achievement-orientations for specific social statuses.
4. A concern for the dysjunction between cultural goals and the institutionalized means of achieving said goals.
5. A level of analysis which focused on individual adaptations to social structural influences.

These characteristics generally point to a series of underlying domain assumptions about human behavior which suggests that: (1) human beings are rational decision-makers; (2) human beings internalize success-values through various reference-other structures (family,peer groups, teachers, etc.); (3) "status achievement" is the appropriate normative standard to measure "success" (in fact, achievement and success were interchangable concepts). From these sub-theoretical assumptions, a series of more explicit theoretical assumptions can be extrapolated (Mennell, 1974 and Cohen, 1968):

1. Norms and values are the basic elements of social life.
2. Social life involves commitments.
3. Individual behavior is purposively directed toward the achievement of ends, goals, and objectives.
4. Individuals tend to select appropriate means and manners (from those available) to achieve or research ends.
5. The conditions of the social and physical environment constrain or enhance social action.
6. Emotions and moral orientations influence menas=end selection.
7. Subjectively intended meanings attached to actions by actors provide an avenue for explaining behavior.

These theoretical assumptions are certainly not new to anyone, as they form the basis for Parsons' "Voluntaristic Theory of Action" (Parsons, 1937). The most explicit formulation of a "functional theory" of aspiration formation was presented in an unpublished work by Kuvlesky (1970). Falk's (1975) more recent systems model of occupational choice is undergirded by a similar

functionalist subtheoretical orientation, although the addition of aspects of a functional psychology provides an improved macro-functional approach to aspiration formation.

Post-Path Analysis Aspiration Research: New Methodological Vino in the Old Functionalist Bottle

One of the most significant developments in aspiration research was the introduction of path analytic methodological techniques to social stratification research from 1966 to 1969. The intellectual leaders of this methodological innovation were H. M. Blalock and O.D. Duncan; Blau and Duncan's (1967) classic work, The American Occupational Structure, is an "exemplar" of this methodological movement. With the emrgence of the "Wisconsin Model" of status attainment (Sewell, Haller and Portes, 1969), status aspirations became a viable component of the process of educational, occupational, and income achievement (Picou, Curry and Hotchkiss, 1975: 27-29). Aspiration research now gained "status," in that it was placed squarely in the broader area of specialization commonly referred to as social stratification and mobility. The path analysis technique shifted the emphasis of mobility studies from aggregate level analyses of movements from origin statuses to achieved statuses, to a concern with the individual's movement through status hierarchies as influenced by various ascribed and achieved characteristics (Carter and Carter, 1971).

This shift of focus in stratification research coincided quite well with the conceptual approach of earlier aspiration studies. Since previous aspiration research floundered theoretically in that vast wasteland of middle-range functionalism, the person-centered adaptation perspective was readily incorporated within the analytical framework of status attainment. The major contribution of models of status attainment to aspiration research was its synthetic character (Mullins, 1973: 229). These models allowed the aspiration researcher to summarize a host of previous bivariate relationships, while at the same time expanding the scope of the aspiration area to include specific achievements in a variety of status areas.

The immediate success of this synthetic methodology produced an "elite group" of researchers who have been referred to as the "new causal army." Most of the earlier aspiration guerilla-fighters immediately enlisted in this army and became dedicated comrades-in-arms while waiting for their next data collection period. The issue of theory was now a moot question since aspiration researchers, as well as status-attainment researchers, discussed empirical results in terms of synthetic causal models.

A causal model, however does not necessarily reflect a theoretical approach. The hiatus between theory and methods in sociology has constantly been an area of dialogue for both "theorists" and "methodologists." Functionalists have traditionally sided with axiomatic formalizations of concepts whenever the establishment of valid empirical indicators could be incorporated in their research (Mullins, 1973: 219). With the advent of path analytic techniques, "theory-building" has been described in the same vein as "systems analysis" (Heise, 1969: 41). Additionally, the concept of social system is the cornerstone of what may be termed macro-functional theory, as developed by Parsons and his associates in the late 40's and early 50's in American sociology (Friedrichs, 1970).

Although having some similarities to what is commonly referred to as "General Systems Theory," path analysis or causal modeling cannot strictly

be equated with this interdisciplinary development. Von Bertalanffy (1968: 32) defines General Systems Theory as a new Discipline which "is a logico-mathematical field whose task is the formulation and derivation of those general principles that are applicable to 'systems' in general." Buckley's (1967: 41) sociological view of systems theory provides a more relevant definition of system as "a complex of elements of components directly or indirectly related in a causal network, such that each component is related to at least some others in a more or less stable way within a particular period of time." The similiarities of path analysis and General Systems Theory appear to be superficial, at best, in that the linear additive assumption of path analysis, along with the "closed" nature of a path-analytic system tends to violate some basic tenants of General Systems Theory, such as interaction and feedback effects of systems components and the concept of "open" systems (Thomas, 1975).

Path analysis and, in particular, status attainment research appears to be more theoretically related to the macro-functional concept of "system" in sociology. One could substitute the word "consequence" for "cause" or "effect" in any discription of a model of status attainment and essentially not commit a disservice to the explanation of the phenomenon under study. In fact, the use of the word "cause" is actually inappropriate, since even path analysis experts themselves have noted that it is well nigh impossible to empirically demonstrate cause-effect relationships (Wright, 1934; Blalock, 1964).

The movement to a person-centered functional systems approach for aspiration research received its impetus from the methodological innovation of path analysis and the corresponding similiarity of the functional-systems approach to synthetic path analytical systems. The theoretical characteristics of pre-path analysis aspiration research noted above can easily be applied to post-path analysis aspiration research as the unit of analysis is still the individual, and analysis results are interpreted in terms of a sequence of stages involving achievement, socialization, aspirations for cultural desirables and eventual "success" or "failure." In sum, status attainment is a process system whereby components (variables) that are ascribed and achieved are viewed as sequentially having direct and indirect consequences for the movement of an individual through a status graded conception of the stratification system.

Functionalist Status Panic As Conceptual Conservatism: Some Critical Comments On Status Attainment Research

One becomes hard pressed in discussing social stratification in modern society without paying some attention to the classical writings of Karl Marx and Max Weber. At times Marx and Weber have been viewed as two intellectual giants at loggerheads over the nature of social stratification. Contrary to such a view is the perspective that many common concerns and agreements characterize a detailed comparison of these early activists. One general area of agreement resides in their multi-dimensional conception of social stratification (Mann, 1975). Although giving primacy to the economy, Marxian students of social stratification acknowledge both polity and ideology as significant social forms for understanding systems of inequality (e.g., see the writings of contemporary European marxists: Althusser and Balibar, 1970; Poulantzas, 1973). Weberians also have conceptualized the dimensions of social stratification into a tripartite model consisting of class, party and status.

These three stratification dimensions, elements, or forms obviously are correlated, yet analytically distinguishable. They can be conceived of

"methods of domination" or sources of control of power. As Mann (1975: 2) has noted, there are three strategies by which groups "come to incorporate both people and territory in their domain. The most obvious is military conquest; the second involves (unequal) economic exchange; the third involves the wielding of symbolic, ideological knowledge..." However, when one attempts to consider how dominance is maintained or how "system integration" is managed, a consideration of these dimensions, individually, causes problems. Political and/or military control by force has historically been ineffective; economic dominance has often lost its control to enforced market regulations and the emergence of alternative scarce resources; and ideological power can and has routinized itself out of a subordinate state (Mann, 1975).

A careful look at Weber's ideas regarding these status dimensions of stratification may shed some light on this issue, while at the same time revealing the consistency of the functionalist theoretical perspective with status attainment research. Functional-systems theory takes as one of its primary points of departure the fact that social systems exist in a stable, integrated state often referred to as "dynamic equilibrium." The crucial factor which leads to and maintains system integration is value consensus (Van Den Berghe, 1963). Stabilization in modern complex societies is thus viewed as a consequence of socializing societal members to internalized norms and values which morally legitimates inequality or status differentials. Weber defined status as the social estimation of honour or prestige, which finds expression in a life-style (Weber, ed. Gerth and Mills, 1958: 187-188). However, Weber's definition of status is problematic, in that the content of status is not defined. Hope and associates (1972) allude to this problem when they contend that the prestige level of an occupation merely reflects its "general goodness" or "desirability," not the substance of that goodness. The question now arises: "Where does one look for the content of prestige in various cultures?"

Weber (1964: 429), however, does provide an answer to this question when he states:

> The development of status is essentially a question of stratification resting upon usurpation...But the road from this purely conventional situation to legal privilege, positive or negative, is easily traveled as soon as a certain stratification of the social has in fact been 'lived in' and has achieved stability by virtue of a stable distribution of economic power.

Status, or the concept of prestige as defined by Weber, thus appears not to be simply a dimension of stratification, but rather an outcome of the crystalization of power differentials emanating from class and party. "Style of life" is a consumption pattern and ostensibly production is antecedent to consumption. Given this interpretation, status can be viewed as a most conservative dimension of social stratification. As Mann (1975: 7) has observed, "status, unlike class, appears not to be an agency of change at all, but of resistance to change."

The concern with status attainment has become the central theme of contemporary American sociologists working in the area of social stratification. This comes as no surprise given our contention that status attainment research is theoretically aligned with a person-centered functionalist-system paradigm. Status is the great stabilizer of contemporary social systems and a form of symbolic control of those class and party inequalities that de-

fine the structure of stratification. A concern with the transmission of "control of the means of production" or "political power" is noticeably absent among the new causal army. Obviously, this army is more concerned with occupying territory controlled by class and party structures. Futhermore, this "status-panic" situation has very little potential for meaningfully promoting social change in modern society (either explicitly or implicitly) since structural changes in stratification systems require consideration of class and party. Along these same lines, Coser (1975: 694-695) has noted that status attainment models focus on the distributive rather than the relational aspects of social stratification.

> There is no concern here with the ways in which differential class power and social advantage operate in predictable and routine ways, through specifiable social interactions between classes or interest groups, to give shape to determinate social structures and to create differenctial life chances.

Party and class are the ideological and empirical foundation which supports all those paths to status achievement. Our contentions do not deny the importance of sophisticated estimates of the distributive aspects of social stratification to sociology. However, it does suggest that there are relational aspects to stratification research which should be incorporated by the social stratification researcher. Such concern may prove to be more useful for applied sociology and members of society per se. A narrowly defined view of social stratification confuses important theoretical issues of social change. As Collins (1975: 17) states it: "Why some people are poor is only one aspect of the same question as to why some people are rich".

Social Stratification and Status Attainment Research: Some Alternatives

At this point it becomes necessary to consider the possible directions that future research on youth aspirations and status attainment might take. If our contentions up to this stage are accurate, the "aspiration research" and "status attainment research" should attempt continued theoretical development within the functional-systems paradigm. In addition, it appears necessary for future stratification researchers to consider the dynamics of class and party control. Obviously the data for such a concern, i.e., models of the transmission of property, political power, etc., is not as readily available as status attainment data. Nonetheless, as Coser (1975: 693) has stated:

> Training the new generation of sociologists not to bother with problems about which data are hard to come by, and to concentrate on areas in which data can be easily gathered, will result in the worst of cases, in the piling up of useless information and, in the best of cases, in a kind of tunnel vision in which some problems are explored exhaustively while others are not even perceived.

However, all those former aspiration-researchers now in the new causal army will probably continue their research despite the plea for a concern with class and status. What direction should status attainment research take?

Besides replication and refinement, the construction of a more complete functional-systems approach to status attainment appears quite necessary and would be theoretically rewarding. Some specific suggestions along these lines will now be advanced.

One of the most crucial and substantively important links in status attainment models is the aspiration-achievement path. Status aspirations have consistantly been found to be important determinants of status achievements. However, this basic relationship merely alludes to many important and crucial factors that are relevant for transforming one's desires into reality. What is needed is the incorporation of a "functional psychology" which is consistent with the functional sociology of status attainment. Although early aspiration researchers took many conceptual ideas from cognitive-motivational theorists such as Lewin, the failure of cognitive approaches in psychology to adequately explain motivation reduced the possibility for future interdisciplinary exchange (Picou and Campbell, 1975 and Weiner, 1974).

Recent developments in "functional psychology" or "naive psychology", however, may serve as a more consistent approach to status attainment. Originating with the work of Heider (1958) and having been recently expanded by Rotter (1966) and Weiner (1974), "attribution theory" provides an important framework for elaborating the aspiration-achievement link in studies of status attainment. The attribution theory perspective assumes that "individuals process and synthesize information to reach causal judgements, that the causal judgements can be categorized into a few dimensions, that the dimensions influence expectancy shifts and affective reactions and that expectancy and effect determine goal-directed behavior" (Weiner, 1974:43). Consistent with experimental studies in this area, it could be hypothesized that individuals with various achievement needs provide alternative explanations for success or failure. The individual with high achievement needs will most often attribute failure to lack of effort, an exceedingly variable phenomenon, which can be modified in the future. Continued goal-striving with minimal shifts in expectancy would be the logical outcome of such a situation, along with stable aspirations over time (Oweck and Repucci, 1973). Individuals low in achievement needs most often ascribe failure to lack of ability, a most stable phenomenon, which, in turn, would result in the cessation of goal-striving and aspiration fluctuation.

Summary

In summary, we have suggested that the plethora of studies in sociology on youth-aspirations and the corresponding studies of status attainment implicitly embrace a structural-functional theoretical approach. Some criticisms associated with this theoretical framework were discussed in terms of social stratification research, particularily the classical writings of Marx and Weber which comprise the "domains" of stratification. Finally, an alternative direction for status attainment research was sketched in terms of integrating functional psychology within current functional systems of status attainment, leading to more paisonmonious theoretical development.

Footnote

[1]By aspiration research we refer to studies which have employed status aspirations as an independent or dependent variable in their analysis.

REFERENCES

Althusser, L. and E. Balibar
1970 Reading Capital. London: New Left Books.

Bertalanffy, L. Von
1968 General Systems Theory. New York: Braziller.

Blalock, A. M.
1964 Causal Inferences in Non-Experimental Research. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Blau, P. M. and O. D. Duncan
1967 The American Occupational Structure. New York: Wiley.

Boyle, R.P.
1970 "Path Analysis and Ordinal Data: American Journal of Sociology." 75: 461-480.

Buckley, W.
1967 Sociology and Modern Systems Theory. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. Prentice-Hall.

Carter, T.M. and N.D. Carter
1971 "Status Attainment vs. Social Mobility" L.S.U. Journal of Sociology. 2: 12-33.

Cohen, P.S.
1968 Modern Social Theory. New York: Basic.

Coleman, J.S.
1969 "The Methods of Sociology" pp. 86-114 in R. Bierstadt, (ed.) A Design for Sociology. Philadelphia. AAPSS Monograph No. 9.

Collins, R.
1975 Conflict Sociology. New York: Academic Press.

Cos r, L.
1975 "Presidential Address: Two Methods in Search of a Substance," American Sociological Review. 40: 691-700.

Curry, E.W., et al.
1975 Signigicant-Other Influence and Career Decisions of Black and White Male Urban Youth. Col , Ohio: National Center for Education, Final Report 7-0158.

Dweck, C.S. and N.D. Reppucci
1973 "Learned Helplessness and Reinforcement Responsibility in Children" Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 25: 109-116.

Falk, W.W.
1975 "An Integrative Model of the Occupational Choice Process" pp. 62-92 in J.S. Picou and R.E. Campbell (eds.) Career Behavior of Special Groups. Col., Ohio: Merrill.

Friedrichs, R.W.
1970 A Sociology of Sociology. New York: Free Press.

Ginzberg, E. et al.
1951 Occupational Choice. New York: Columbia.

Haller, A.O. and I.W. Miller
1963 The Occupational Aspiration Scale. East Lansing: MAES Bulletin 288.

Heider, F.
1958 The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations. New York: Wiley.

Heise, D.
1969 "Problems in Path Analysis and Causal Inference" pp. 38-73 in E. Borgatta (ed.) Sociological Methodology. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Hope, K. (ed.)
1972 The Analysis of Social Mobility. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hyman, H.H. "The Value Systems of Different Classes" pp. 426-441 in R. Bendix and S. Lipset Class, Status and Power. Glencoe: Free Press.

Kahl, J.A.
1953 "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys" Harvard Educational Review. 23: 186-203.

Kuvlesky, W.P.
1970 "Dynamics of Occupational and Educational Status Projections: A Theoretical Perspective" Paper presented at RSS Meetings, Wash. D.C..

Labovitz, S.
1970 "The Assignment of Numbers to Rank Order Categories" American Sociological Review 35: 515-524.

Lewin, K. et al.
1944 "Level of Aspiration" pp. 333-378 in J. Mc V. Hunt (ed.) Personality and Behavior Disorders New York: Ronald Press.

Lipset, S.M.
1955 "Social Mobility and Urbanization" Rural Sociology 20: 220-228.

Mann, M.
1975 "Social Stratification and System Integration: A Contribution to Marxian and Weberian Theory". Paper presented at ASA Meetings, San Francisco.

Mennell, S.
1974 Sociological Theory. New York: Praeger.

Merton, R.K.
1957 Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe: Free Press.

Mullins, N.C.
1973 Theories and Theory Groups in Contemporary American Sociology. New York: Harper and Row.

Parsons, T.
1937 The Structure of Social Action. New York: McGraw-Hill.

1951 The Social System. New York: Free Press.

Picou, J.S. and R. E. Campbell (eds.)
1975 Career Behavior of Special Groups. Col. Ohio: C.E. Merrill.

Picou, J.S. et al.
1975 Career Choice and Achievement: A Codification of Theoretical and Conceptual Approaches. Col. Ohio: National Center for Education.

Picou, J.S. and T.M. Carter
1976 "Significant Other Influence and Aspirations" Sociology of Education 49 (Winter): 12-22.

Poulantzas, N.
1973 Political Power and Social Classes. London: New Left Books.

Rottor, J. B.
1966 "Generalized Expectancies for Internal vs. External Control of Reinforcement." Psychological Monographs 80: 1-28.

Sewell, W. H., A. D. Haller, and A. Portes.
1969 "The Educational and Early Occupational Attainment Process." American Sociological Review 34: 82-92.

Super, D. E.
1953 "A Theory of Vocational Development. The American Psychologist 8: 185-190.

Thomas, J. K.
1975 "Modern Systems Theory and Path Analysis: A Search for Isomorphism." Mimeo, Texas A&M, Sociology Department.

Trow, M.
1941 "Phantasy and Occupational Choice." Occupation 20: 89-93.

Van Den Berghe, P.
1963 "Dialetic and Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis." American Sociological Review 20: 695-705.

Weber, M.
1964 The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. Glencoe: Free Press.

1958 (Girth and Mills, eds.) From Max Weber. London: Routledge.

Weiner, B.
1974 Achievement Motivation and Attribution Theory. Morristown, N. J.: General Learning Press.

Williams, R.
1970 American Society. New York: Knopf.

Woelfel, J. and A. O. Haller
1971 "Significant-Others, The Self-Reflexic Act, and The Attitude Formation Process." American Sociological Review 36: 74-87.

Wright, S.
1934 "The Method of Path Coefficients" Annals of Mathematical Statistics 5: 161-215.